UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes
Editor in Chief

Louis L. Mann
Curtis W. Reese
Associate Editors

The Meaning of Inflation
By Felix Flügel

The Cultural Climate of St. Helena—*An Editorial* - - - *Alson H. Robinson*

Our Two-Faced Religion - *Joseph Ernest McAfee*

Chicago Names Einstein the First Citizen of the World - - *Lola Maverick Lloyd*

The Far East (Book Reviews) - *Frederick Starr*

A State Funeral For a Murderer

VOLUME CXI NUMBER 4

Chicago, March 27, 1933

PRICE TEN CENTS

UNITY

Established 1878

Published Weekly October to June — *Subscription $3.00*
Published Bi-Weekly July to September — *Single Copies 10 cents*

Unity Publishing Co., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, July 30, 1931, at the Post office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Debts, Disarmament and a World Police Force

[From Our Special Correspondent]

Salmon O. Levinson, Chicago, originator of the idea of the Outlawry of War as expressed in the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, in a recent statement insists that war debts and disarmament should be linked, that a sound handling of these debts coupled with a holiday in armament construction would lift the burden of debts and arms from off the back of suffering humanity. He shows how it can be done within a period of twelve years, which would include an armament holiday for four years, a 50 per cent reduction in arms budgets along with a comparatively small payment to the U. S. A. He shows how by acting with "a wholesale community of interest" the world could be rid of debts and armaments. No statesman, no student of world affairs can afford to overlook Mr. Levinson's plan. (See Unity, Chicago, February 6, 1933.)

Starting with the conviction that, as Mr. Levinson contends, war debts and disarmament are closely linked, I wish to offer a plan which goes a step further by providing not only for cleaning up the war debt mess and drastic reduction (approximating total abolition) of armaments, but provides a constructive and practical plan for policing the world. Here is thus a triple-plated plan: reduction of arms to nearly nil; "settling" the war debts; providing for a *world-police force* for maintaining international peace and order. The plan is:

1. There shall be no more financial moratoriums. They destroy credit. They are infectious. (Only moratoriums in arms-building allowable!)

2. There shall be no more debt cancellations. They injure both lender and borrower.

3. Let all the European Allied Debts to Britain, France, Italy, the U. S. A. (Mr. Levinson says that apart from German reparations these amount to $15,000,000,000) be cut down 50 per cent, or more.

4. Every debtor nation shall pay 5 or 10 per cent annually of its remaining indebtedness into an international bank, say at Basle.

5. Such money shall go into what shall be known as the International Police-Force Fund, to be used for policing the world in the interest of international order. This police-force shall be of the Air only.

6. Accompanying this process there shall be a reduction of all armaments on land and water, by ten per cent annually. The plan would make conscription unnecessary, while soldiers and marines for international fighting purposes would cease to be—save in museums. Each nation would police itself.

7. The organization of the International Police Force would be *easy*, if there were a will to do it. *Where there*

(*Continued on page* 63)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXI MONDAY, MARCH 27, 1933 Number 4

FOR A NEW WORLD

God grant us wisdom in these coming days,
And eyes unsealed, that we clear visions see
Of that new world that He would have us build,
To life's ennoblement and His high ministry.
God give us sense—God-sense of life's new needs,
And souls aflame with new-born chivalries—
To cope with those black growths that foul the ways—
To cleanse our poisoned founts with God-born energies.
To pledge our souls to nobler, loftier life,
To win the world to His fair sanctities,
To bind the nations in a pact of peace,
To free the soul of life, for finer loyalties.
Not since Christ died upon His lonely cross
Has time such prospects held of life's new birth,
Not since the world of chaos first was born
Has man so clearly visaged hope of a new earth.
Not of our own might can we hope to rise
Above the ruts and failures of the past,
But with His help who did the first earth build,
With hearts courageous we may fairer build this last.

—*John Oxenham.*

When Mr. Roosevelt, on his inauguration day, faced a country without any open banks, he took prompt action. But this was emergency action, of little permanent avail unless followed by a drastic reform of our whole banking system which, says the moderate *New Republic,* is "rotten to the center." Through a natural course of events over which he himself had little or no control, the President now finds himself challenged to meet the financial situation as the first test of his manhood and his statesmanship. In such a crisis this cannot be postponed—nor should it be postponed, for the silver lining of this black cloud of disaster is the necessity of immediate action to remedy a condition which is "one of the worst and weakest spots," to quote the *New Republic* again, in our society. Mr. Roosevelt must either carry through in short order a complete law of banking reform, or else confess himself beaten before his administration is well begun. What he should do, in our humble judgment, is to make a complete sweep of the whole existing set-up, and give the nation a single government-owned and operated banking system. That any such thorough-going socialization of banks can be achieved even in this crisis, however, is not to be expected. The American people are not yet frightened enough to be ready for it. But what the public mind, we believe, *is* ready for is a unified federal system of banks, the end of state banking, the inclusion of all banks in the Federal Reserve System, and the abolition of all security affiliates and other subsidiary activities which have made American banking at its best a mere business for profit, and at its worst a mere speculative enterprise. If, before this editorial is printed, the President's rebuilding of the banking structure of this country is not well under way, we shall be alarmed. He has called for action, and here is where action must commence. If it does not commence, and that right speedily, we shall begin to feel that there is little to be expected from "the new deal," and that the worst is therefore not far away.

We have never, we think, found it so difficult to maintain a merely objective and dispassionate attitude as in the current case of President Roosevelt. Our chief executive is faced by such crises, burdened with such problems, vexed by such tumultuous and catastrophic events, that one is tempted simply to sympathize and say nothing. Look at the questions lying on top the pile of questions on his desk! The banking situation (see editorial above), economy and balancing of the budget, unemployment, public relief, agricultural reconstruction, the European debt-settlement, the approaching international economic conference, the lagging and dragging disarmament conference, the Chino-Japanese war, the wars in Latin America, the Cuban crisis, the recognition of Soviet Russia—these lie nearest to his hand. Then, as if such problems were not enough to occupy an eight-hour day, there is the perennial problem of political patronage, especially pressing at just this time; and, along with this, the various social duties of the presidential office, the meeting of visitors and official delegations, the signing of autographs, the preparation of public documents, and the posing for newsreels and photographs. Also, to heap up the measure to overflowing, there comes a California earthquake, or a royal anniversary, every now and then, to make necessary a message of commiseration or congratulation. How any man can survive the impact of such questions as press upon an American president these days, we cannot understand. We are moved to endorse the plea that Mr. Roosevelt at this hour is entitled to support and sympathy. But criticism cannot abdicate, especially in times like these. The free play of thought was never so necessary as in this crisis when the ultimate intellectual and spiritual resources of the country

must be mobilized for its salvation. We must be faithful to our convictions, and set forth our ideas, now as always. Also, as our one most appropriate tribute to a harassed man, we must be scrupulously fair, and always give the President the benefit of every doubt. This is what UNITY is pledging itself to do, in the terrific days ahead.

President Roosevelt, during his campaign, made repeated bids to the Republicans for support. He has now followed this up by appointing no less than three Republicans to office in his Cabinet. These are the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Woodin, listed in "Who's Who" as "Presbyterian, Republican;" the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Ickes, who was a member of the Republican National Committee in 1916, and whose wife is now a Republican member of the Illinois legislature; and the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace, son of the Republican occupant of the same office under President Coolidge, and himself a member of the G. O. P. In addition to these appointments, there are rumors that Philip LaFollette is to be given an ambassadorship and that various recognitions are to be bestowed upon Senator Norris, Senator Cutting, Hiram Johnson, and other Republican progressives. Now all this must mean something! Is it possible that President Roosevelt is deliberately undertaking to build up a new party out of material furnished by the liberal wings of the two old parties? Certainly, if the Republican left is conspicuous by its presence in the new administration, the Democratic right, in the persons of such outstanding leaders as Cox, Baker, Ritchie, Davis, and Smith, is conspicuous by its absence. The President may well be undertaking to break up the old alignment. But on the other hand, may it not be possible that there is now so little difference between the two old parties, that Mr. Roosevelt is not even bothering to make note of party labels? Democrat or Republican, what difference does it make these days? It's all the same in the end. Which means that the door is wide open to the organization of a genuinely radical party, if the people want it. In President Monroe's day, when the two parties merged, it was called "the era of good feeling." There is no such era today—only confusion, bitterness and fear. Surely, while conservatives are running to common cover, radicals should be preparing to ride the storm.

The federal ban against the hoarding of gold was probably a necessary and in its results a beneficent measure. It substituted one fear for another, and therewith brought a flood of hidden gold pouring back into the public treasury. Now that the excitement is over, however, it may be well to ponder the immense significance of this measure, which marks the farthest extension of governmental power in the history of the country. Its real character, especially in the light of its authorized enforcement, can only be understood when it is seen in the light of what has been going on in Soviet Russia in recent years. The Bolsheviks also have had their currency problem. This problem has arisen, on the one hand, in connection with "bootlegged" roubles—cheap roubles bought for a few cents in Berlin or Paris, and carried into and used in Russia at the 50-cent value staked by governmental authority. It has arisen, on the other hand, in connection with *voluta*—the foreign money more precious in Russia than gold here. In meeting this two-fold problem, the Soviets placed an absolute ban on the use of the worthless bootlegged roubles and the priceless *voluta*, and backed this ban with penalties of the most ferocious character. This was tyranny, as critics of Russia have never tired of reminding us; but tyranny justified from the Russian point of view by the plea of public necessity. If the Soviet system were to survive, the government must have control of its currency! Now exactly the same, or a very similar situation here in America has led to the same plea of necessity, and the same action upon this plea. Our government has done exactly what Russia has done—laid an absolute ban on individual liberty in the money field, and backed this ban with penalties of fearful character. Read the provision relating to hoarding in the new banking act, and see if it is not identical with the Bolshevik program, except only that it authorizes no capital punishment! It is a law of nature that like causes produce like results. The same law holds in politics.

When Lewis A. Douglas, of Arizona, was chosen Director of the Budget by President Roosevelt, the newspaper press immediately broke out in one long salvo of applause. We knew very little about Mr. Douglas, except that he had stood up in his shoes and opposed the soldiers' bonus, and this we deemed to his credit; and there was something in this enthusiasm of the New York *Times* and other journals which made us suspicious. Who is this man Douglas, that the powers-that-be should be so elated by his appointment? Now comes an answer to our question in a recent issue of the *New Leader*. According to its well-known Washington correspondent, Laurence Todd, Mr. Douglas is the son of the man who, as manager of the Bisbee Copper Company, shortly before the entrance of the United States into the Great War, kidnapped and deported a trainload of striking miners into the Arizona desert. But let us not vent the sins of the father upon the son! What is Douglas's own record? He has served for six years in the House of Representatives, and has been consistently on the side of big business, especially in the power fight. Thus, he led the battle against the Swing-Johnson bill for the Boulder Canyon power dam. As a member of the House sub-

committee on Muscle Shoals, he joined with his Republican colleagues in fighting the Norris government-operation plan. When the Senate adopted the Walsh resolution for investigation of the power trust by the Federal Trade Commission, Douglas went before the Commission and aggressively demanded that that tribunal first investigate the "enemies" of the utility corporations. Beaten here, Douglas redoubled his efforts to stop the construction of Boulder Dam, and kept up to the bitter end his struggle against the public operation of Muscle Shoals. Just how much significance is to be attached to Mr. Roosevelt's appointment of the Arizona Representative to the office which ranks second only to the Cabinet positions, we cannot say. But we earnestly hope that Senator Norris feels this selection a reward for all his valiant support of the new President during the last campaign.

The recent death of the famous Field Marshal of the British Empire, Sir William Robertson, brings to mind two outstanding events in his career. William Robert Robertson, a son of poor parents, entered the British army at the age of eighteen to escape from poverty. At the end of eleven years, he won a commission, a most unusual thing for anyone in the private ranks of the British army to achieve. In India he won recognition as a transport and intelligence officer. On his return to England he was the first man from the common ranks to pass through the Staff College. He served with distinction in the Boer War, and from 1910 to 1913 was Commandant of the Staff College. Robertson was the man chiefly responsible for the training of the British Expeditionary Force. After the breaking out of the Great War he became Quartermaster General. Later he became Chief of Staff to Sir John French. Then he was promoted to Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and later to the office of General, for his notable services. Sir William went to Germany as Commander in Chief of the British Army of the Rhine, which office he held for eleven months. On his final retirement from active service he was made Field Marshal. The two things that stand out in the life of this military man reveal a revolt from the cruelty and hideousness of the war system to which he had given his life. The first was his writing of a letter, while commanding the British forces in Germany, to Lloyd George at the Peace Conference, in which he stated that he would not be responsible for the conduct of his men if the blockade was not lifted and food permitted to enter Germany. The second was his speech in London, in January, 1933, probably his last public utterance, in which he said that he had spent nearly half a century on matters connected with war, and had arrived at the conclusion that war was a futile thing, for it neither insured peace nor composed differences. In these two instances the man rose above the soldier.

The Cultural Climate of St. Helena

At this particular period of the year the most intriguing condition which I can imagine is the climate of St. Helena's Island. The mere mention of the name will probably carry any person with quick imagination to a famous island several hundred miles off the coast of Africa, to which in the year 1815 a notorious bandit named Napoleon Bonaparte was banished by the British Government. The St. Helena that I have in mind, although an island of about equal size, is not so distant, being located upon the southeastern shore of South Carolina. But when you have visited the Carolinian island, even though you may never have been so far away from home as the residence of Napoleon, you realize that after all isolation is largely a relative commodity.

Up to three years ago no bridge connected the island of St. Helena with the mainland. In fact, the nearest community of any size, the city of Beaufort, is itself located upon an island, the only communication having been, before the bridge was built, a small river boat of uncertain periodicity of schedule. The result is an isolation culture and attitude which the visitor feels; in which he recognizes himself, as in fact he is, a foreigner.

The island itself was discovered by the Spaniards in 1521, and has had a long and dramatic history. The soil of the island has been famous for years for its fertility, and during the period of our national development down to the time of the war between the states, the plantations were noted for their production of long fiber cotton. With the approach of the northern armies, the white settlers and owners abandoned the island, leaving the land in possession of the negroes. The government carried on the farms for two or three years at the close of the war, and then made it possible for the colored population to assume ownership of the land. The result was, and still continues, that we have on the island a population almost 100 per cent colored. Such it was at the close of the war between the states, and such it remains today.

The condition of these emancipated slaves was, according to all reports, one of tragedy and desolation. Trained to complete dependence upon their masters, now that this dependence had been removed, they were quite literally cast upon an island in the sea without visible means of self-support.

In the long run, the only answer to such a situation as this, as to any other social difficulty, is education. In the very midst of the war, in the year 1862, Miss Laura M. Towne came to the island and established

there Penn School, the first of its kind to be organized in this country for children of the negro race. In the early days the demand in education was for training to read and write. Since the culture of white people was so intimately connected with books, the natural demand of the negroes was for book education. It took a long time to break that tradition, and to persuade the 6,000 negro residents of this island that education should consist in the means of adapting themselves to their environment.

In the year 1904 Miss Rossa Cooley, a graduate of Vassar College, with several years' experience at Hampton, came to Penn School to carry on the work which had been instituted by the founders. To those who are interested in the educational processes, and who believe that if democracy in America is to survive education is the foremost agency, here is one of the most dramatic examples we have thus far produced. Penn School is different from other colored schools. It is located in the center of a 100 per cent agricultural negro island community. Speaking in general, and dealing both with children and their parents, I suppose there are three main divisions into which the scope of this school may be cast:

First, education in sanitation. There are unmistakable evidences that other days must have taken heavy toll in life and suffering as a result of what the islanders call a "satisfying affliction." They mean by this something complete, overwhelming, in which, as Miss Cooley says, "Mortal sickness is compounded by the isolation of the people and their utter lack of medical resources." Smallpox, tuberculosis, neglected injuries, local infections, and the whole brood of suffering sent, as it was believed, from God as a method of punishing his people, have surrendered to the persistent efforts of the leaders of this school in the field of sanitation.

Secondly, education on St. Helena means better agriculture. During the past few years the islanders have been confronted with two major calamities. First, in the year 1911, when a tremendous tidal wave swept away many of the homes, and ruthlessly destroyed their crops. A few years later came the boll weevil. Having for generations depended upon a single crop for subsistence, it will be easily recognized that the measure of such a calamity was incalculable. Now they look upon it as a blessing. In place of the one uncertain crop they now know how to raise corn, rice, potatoes, lettuce—and such watermelons!

And then finally, if education means anything at all, it must result in better homes for the people. Regarding this last activity Miss Cooley feels very strongly. She could take you into cabins on the island today which are not incomparable in poverty, squalor, discomfort, to those that were occupied by slaves at the close of the war. She can also take you into the home of the island doctor, a graduate of Howard University, in which you may find every evidence of modern home building and culture. For two successive years the National Better Housing Campaign, inaugurated by the Department of Commerce, awarded prizes to the demonstration provided by St. Helena's Island.

The result of this devotion by Miss Cooley and her associate is that there is a growing sense of contentedness, and of the permanent values of life among these negroes which one finds in few other places. To be sure, they are very poor, money being an almost unknown quantity among them. But I could not resist making the contrast between aristocracy of Charleston, South Carolina, and the negroes of St. Helena's Island. One Sunday afternoon we went around Charleston to visit some of the fine old houses which are the pride of that city, and the envy of many another community. In several instances we found that the usual domestic duties had not been discharged. There were evidences of disorder. One mother was a bit apologetic and explained that the young people had been up late the night before. It was further explained to us that there is much drinking among this class of people, and that parents give cocktail parties for children from fourteen to sixteen years of age.

I hope nobody from Charleston will see this reference, but I am bound to say that if that kind of thing continues very long, the handwriting on the wall for Charleston aristocracy is clear enough. As over against that, the negroes of St. Helena's Island are better adapted to their environment, and on the whole happier. If this is the case, as I believe it to be, it is in large measure due to the exceptional influence and opportunities which the Penn School has provided. Long may it minister to the homes of the freed.

ALSON H. ROBINSON.

Jottings

The *New Leader* suggests that the burglar alarms in banks should be set to go off during banking hours. Not a bad idea! But what about after banking hours, when the directors and other officials get together to disperse funds?

The Utah House of Representatives, in passing an unemployment relief bill, eliminated a closing section invoking divine guidance for the State in its economic distress. This is amazing! We had not known there was so much theological common-sense in American legislators. Now what about chaplains?

The Pullman Company proudly announces that in 1932 not a Pullman passenger was killed on the rail-

roads of the United States. Was this because there were no accidents, or no passengers?

In the midst of the banking crisis we were traveling through the South. In the station at Atlanta, Georgia, we purchased a local newspaper. Turning to the editorial page for information and guidance, we discovered five editorials, with the following titles: "Philatelic Investments" (an essay on stamp collecting), "Boston Tea Party, 1933" (comment on tea sent to Boston by an English merchant for distribution among the poor), "Ants Can Be Dumb" (ant lore), "Absentee Censorship" (comment on movie censorship), and "Beardless and Brave" (are beards coming back?). Great is the fourth estate!

An author has just published a new book, entitled "Your Job: How to Get It and How to Keep It." The problem of unemployment solved at last!

In the old days when a bank closed it went into the hands of a "receiver." Today when a bank closes, it is given into the care of a "conserver." Great is the power of language! J. H. H.

The Meaning of Inflation

With the debtor class hard pressed for funds to meet current obligations, with the Federal Congress anxious to "spend," without increasing revenues by drastic revision of the tax burden, with a huge deficit in the federal budget and with quack reforms labelled fantastically as cure-alls for our economic ailments running rampant, it is little short of miraculous that we have so far escaped currency inflation.

Inflation may be defined as a rise in the general price level. Operating in the opposite direction we have deflation, a drop in the general price level. While it may appear that the effect, not the cause of inflation is of importance, this contention is not altogether valid. Other things being equal, an increase in the stock of gold of any country, may raise the general level of prices, provided the free circulation of this gold, either directly or indirectly, is not interfered with. Thus, for example in the years following gold discoveries in California in the late forties, and in Australia in the early years of the following decade, a decided upward trend in the price level occurred. The monetary experiences in California during the days of the gold rush are familiar to most people. This was distinctly a period of *gold inflation,* i. e., gold was the principal cause of the rising price level. But inflation of this character is not likely to lead to disastrous consequences. In the second place, inflation may result from expansion of credit—*credit inflation,* so-called. Or finally, it may be caused by the issuance of non-self-liquidating currency—fiat money, issued simply at the fiat, or command of the government. This for convenience may be called *currency inflation.* As an example of the latter, we may refer to our monetary experience during the Civil War. The issuance during this emergency of approximately $450,000,000 in greenbacks, without any provision for redemption (specie payments having been suspended), drove prices to much higher levels than would otherwise have been the case. Measured in terms of the standard, gold, the value of the greenbacks depreciated rapidly. If, instead of $450,000,000 of inconvertible paper money, the government had issued billions, the consequences would have been just as disastrous as in Germany during the post-war inflationary period. The depreciation of the greenback was not stopped until after the Civil War. A period of falling prices followed, a price movement which did not end until approximately 1897. It was during this period that William Jennings Bryan urged the return to a bimetallic standard at a ratio of 16-1. This great campaigner felt, as many do today, that the country with a falling price level needs the stimulus which added quantities of money is likely to bring. Bimetallism was defeated, yet prices soon began to rise. New gold discoveries in Alaska and in South Africa contributed to this movement, although a vigorous industrial expansion throughout the United States was probably the principal factor responsible for this movement. By 1913 the price level had risen by about 33 percent over the level of 1897. Bearing these experiences in mind, let us repeat that inflation merely expresses a change in the value relationship of the common medium of exchange and other commodities. A rise in the price level, i. e., inflation, means that each dollar will buy less, just as deflation means adding to the purchasing power of the dollar.

In addition to the terms inflation and deflation, inflationary terminology has recently been enlarged by the word *reflation,* which is used to designate a process of lifting the price level to a new plane—one agreed upon in advance. Thus some more or less arbitrary price level, say the level of the year 1926 or that of 1928 will become the goal of inflationary policy. Or, as sometimes used, the term reflation may simply designate attempts through credit or currency expansion to maintain the present general price level, or to diminish the rapidity of its downward trend. Both forms of reflation mentioned are distinctly inflationary in character. To the extent that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or the operation of the Glass-Steagall amendment to the Federal Reserve Act prevented the price level from dropping still further, its operations may be regarded as inflationary. This important consideration is often overlooked. Its significance, however, should be apparent.

We have already noted that credit expansion may be followed by inflation of prices. In this connection, it may be well to call attention to the fact that the extent of overlending in the years preceding the crash of 1929 was not revealed until deflation set in. Unfortunately bad debts were not always recognized as such, although the evidence was convincing. This at least was true during the initial phase of the depression. Liquidation thus proceeded slowly—too slowly. The thought still seemed to prevail that bad debts could be turned into good debts. Many advocates of inflation

and reflation still persist in this view. This is one of the peculiar anomalies in the present situation.

The net advantage of inflation in the long run, will be zero. Temporarily an employer may benefit, since it is conceivable that his labor costs and perhaps other necessary outlays, will go up more slowly than the price of his product. But an adjustment, in the long run, must be made. Therefore, unless inflation is continued, the stimulus soon wears off. Nothing will have been accomplished.

It is significant to note that in the years since the depression began, a real scarcity of currency has not existed. Purchasing power, however, has been unevenly distributed, banks have curtailed credit, not always wisely, and a general nervousness has characterized every move of buyers and sellers, with the result that money was withheld from circulation. The pumps responsible for keeping this money in circulation ceased functioning efficiently, although the well was far from dry. Also, let us not forget that in the meanwhile, we had accumulated one of the largest stocks of gold in the history of the nation. Failure to utilize this gold to the fullest extent when the price level began its downward swing must not remain unmentioned.

The present crisis in the monetary system is far more than an American problem. Assuming that the gold standard is to be restored throughout the world, a redistribution of the world's monetary stock of gold must be made the goal of the world monetary policy. With nearly two-thirds of this stock of gold in the possession of two nations, the United States and France, the necessity for an international agreement which will stop hoarding of gold by a few nations seems defensible; likewise any policy which will conserve the available gold supply. If the stock of gold, through mining operations, could be added to annually and indefinitely in amounts roughly corresponding to the increased demand for this precious metal (estimated in terms of business expansion), the redistribution of the gold supply would not be nearly as urgent as it appears at the present moment. To restore the gold standard in the leading industrial nations of the world involves far-reaching and drastic—one might even say heroic—steps.

There are certain indications that the present monetary crisis had its origin in the demand made upon the Central European powers for reparations and the insistence that war debts be met, both inter-allied and those owing to the United States. There were only two ways in which these debts could be met, payment in gold or payment in goods (including services). After the gold reserves of the debtor nations were depleted, only the latter alternative remained (i. e., exports to the creditor nations or the rendering of some service.) High tariffs and other trade restrictions prevented the realization of this alternative. In the case of Germany this difficulty became apparent soon after the restrictive policy of her neighbors and of countries distantly removed became effective. To meet her political obligations, Germany resorted to loans. The outcome could have been predicted long before the financial house of cards showed signs of collapse. After years of serious business recession the Austrian Kredit Anstalt closed its doors and the subsequent withdrawal of short term loans from Germany threatened not only the banking and monetary structure of Central Europe, but brought the countries involved to the edge of an abyss, from which they were temporarily rescued only by the energetic steps taken by the principal creditor nations. But the matter cannot rest there.

Mere postponement of a final settlement, while giving temporary relief, will not solve our difficulties. Eventually, if and when payments are insisted upon, the question of how these payments are to be met again will harass the statesmen and financiers of the world. We should repeat: these obligations can be met either through payment in gold or in goods or services. This will be the answer ten years from now; the answer will be the same one hundred years from now. To recognize this simple truth would be a great step forward. It would immediately focus attention upon the underlying cause of our difficulty. In this connection it should be borne in mind that mere accumulation of treasure, i. e., gold, will do us infinitely more harm than good. As long as the present hoarding of gold continues, the foreign trade relations of the world will remain disturbed. And as long as this situation is permitted to continue, recovery is impossible. Currency inflation in any one country will not solve this difficulty.

The distinguished English economist, John Maynard Keynes, has repeatedly warned that so far we have merely looked at the symptoms of the depression without examining the principal causes. The time now seems ripe—we hope not over-ripe—for a reexamination of the world economic situation. Currency inflation in any one country, let it be remembered, does not offer the solution. It in turn becomes a symptom of international economic collapse, just as tariffs, defaulting of debts, abolition of the gold standard, exchange restrictions and the drop in the general price level are symptoms.

Under existing conditions a nation cannot afford, nor is it able, to isolate itself completely from the rest of the world. Some nations, the United States among them, can claim a greater degree of economic independence than others, but even the United States, surrounded by a high tariff wall, continues to import many foreign products, from basic raw materials to goods of an exotic character. The list is formidable. Only by the wildest stretch of the imagination can we claim to be self-sufficient. For reasons which need not be examined here, our balance of trade continues to remain favorable. Gold continues to flow in our direction to settle these favorable balances. But gold cannot continue to move only in one direction without disastrous consequences. Since the present depression is closely connected with the world monetary crisis, a re-examination of this factor should be undertaken at once. So far we have suffered from a prejudiced investigation of the business cycle. Our economists have followed too closely a statistical pattern. Historical analogy has apparently beguiled them into believing that we are faced today with problems similar to those encountered during previous depressions. So far, unfortunately, we have not succeeded in isolating the germ responsible for our present economic predicament.

It is not difficult to understand why currency inflation has been suggested as a means of reducing the weight of our present debt burden. Germany, whether deliberately or not, eliminated most of her internal indebtedness by this device and continued the process of inflation until the purchasing power of the mark almost reached zero; France by drastic measures revaluated the franc, thus reducing her debt burden substantially. Other nations have been guilty of the same offense.

No matter what causes the price level to go up

or down, the relationship of debtors to creditors undergoes a change with each shift in the price level. This uncertainty is responsible for many of our most pressing economic problems and should be remedied at any cost. A carefully managed currency is needed. There can be no doubt of this. To meet our immediate situation revaluation of present indebtedness might be a proper step, although economists differ in regard to the desirability of this method of relieving financial tension. Inflation, brought about by the issuance of excessive amounts of irredeemable paper money would be an act of desperation—an admission of defeat. No reasonable person should give thought to such a step. Other devices for raising the price level are less objectionable. The more we learn about money and monetary theory, the closer we will come to a solution of our economic problems.

Felix Flügel,
Associate Professor of Economics,
University of California.

Our Two-Faced Religion

The double meaning of the word religion confuses most religious discussion. Religious institutions are constantly falling between the two stools across which they try to straddle. The fathers recognized two phases of religion by cataloguing duties toward God and duties toward man. But the classification was never accurate and is now altogether unacceptable. It is impossible to distinguish the two phases with finality, for life is one and religion is one. But the content of religion includes both ethical and esthetic features. Ethical religion has always suffered neglect, as it does today. The idea that religion has anything to do with morals or social conduct is still strange to great existing religious systems.

The failure of our churches to mediate an effectual ethical religion, that is, to supply and apply the ideals required for a secure economic and social order, is notorious. The despair of many has led them to abandon the churches as hopeless, and even to discard religion as a useless or positively deleterious social influence. Lenin and his associates were sure that religion is pernicious because the old Russian church was the instrument by which the Czarist regime drugged the people into insensibility to their social rights and destinies. This is not the only instance when religion has suffered the embarrassment of identification with broken-down or misguided institutions.

Even the feeble attempts of our churches to maintain the ethical balance are widely resented by those who would have religion entirely esthetic—if any. The dabbling of religion in business is vexatious. Ministers who "dabble" are warned to stay in their pulpits and preach the "pure gospel," mindful that business is business and no concern of religion. With a unanimity conspicuously broken only here and there ministers have heeded this behest; they preach the "pure gospel" and are careful not to stir up the industrial and financial "animals." The New York papers have for some time been devotedly seeking to report notable utterances from the New York pulpits in their Monday morning editions. The editors must be greatly put to it to find newsworthy material. If what they do report is the best which the occasion affords the general run of preaching must be quite impossible from the ethical or social point of view.

Yet we cannot give over the demand that religion shall actively function to ethical ends. It is a scandal that amid our welter of churches an economic order should prevail whose ideals are those of the jungle. Ideals and practices of the various professions and guilds who control our social destinies are barbarous if not blatantly savage. Motivations of individual and group greed are everywhere regnant. The sense of social obligation is not only not in command but is openly scoffed as unworthy of the red-blooded, he-man impulses of go-getting business and professional success.

The remedy for this condition still advocated by many is that bold and strong-voiced champions of lofty idealism shall arise in our pulpits and shout the sense of social obligation into our greedy industrial and financial order. There are several reasons why this method has not been successful, and why it can never succeed. Business and industry and professional service will never accept their ethics from a mentor perched in the seculsion of a pulpit. It is right that business should resent the ethical dictation of the preacher. What does the preacher know of the problems which beset the business man at every turn? How can he successfully dictate the ethical refinements of a situation which he views from the safe retreat of a pulpit? The only hope of our civilization is that our various professional groups and economic guilds shall get religion, but it will never be shouted into them from the distance, nor nagged into them from mentors outside of their ranks. A sensitive public must ever arouse these functional groups from lethargy and quicken in them a sense of obligation to the community, but all the ethical religion they ever have they must themselves get. The ideals of these groups must be shaped by the groups themselves in their own quickened sense of social obligation.

The social mechanism by which this shall eventually be achieved may remain still in considerable doubt, though adumbrations are already appearing. It is only evident that the churches are not this mechanism. They cannot spiritualize the social order. They cannot put religion into business and the economic life. They cannot mediate an effective ethical religion. If reason did not make this clear the experience of today and yesterday should be conclusive.

Turning to the other phase of religion, its esthetic, mystical, exotic features, the record is different. There has been no revival of ethical religion since the world war, and the enormous moral strain upon our civilization revealed by the current depression found the churches entirely inadequate. They have occupied themselves with the other phase of religion. And with much success. There has been a revival of mystical religion since the war, a marked revival. Such a fund of literature expounding and interpreting an exotic spirituality has never before been known. The religious book lists, not of one publisher nor of a small group of specialized publishing houses, but the lists of most of the standard publishers have run to religion as to almost no other topic. And the great mass of this

literature has dealt with personal religion, esthetic religion, mystical religion, and scantily with ethical, social religion.

To emphasize this tendency the churches have expended vast sums on new chambers for worship, and in the beautification of their rituals. The Gothic type of architecture is in vogue as never before in this country. Ministers are much occupied with magnifying their "spiritual" services. The place of prayer is discussed as never before. Sermons are ringing the changes on the need for God. Indeed, here is the only solution of the present stressful social problems which many ministers have to offer: get back to God; recognize that the present calamities have befallen us because there has been a general defection from God.

Each of us will have his own ideas as to the propriety of these preachments, and as to the relative value of ethical and esthetic religion. But there can be no two minds as to the emphasis which religion is now officially getting. The present one-sided emphasis may be construed as the surrender of obligation on the part of our official ministry of religion to concern itself with the ethical demands of the times, or it may be accepted as their verdict that esthetic religion, the religion of personal culture, is the true and final solution of the ethical problems of today and all time. With such a verdict multitudes of eager spirits will take issue, and will join in the demand that a new ministry of religion and a new social mechanism for the mediation of religion shall be raised up.

Maybe the present ecclesiastical machinery is capable of the necessary transformation adequately to express the esthetic phase of religion. But a transformation it will be. Much of the present machinery will be found unnecessary and cumbersome. Creedal distinctions will for the most part disappear. Massive denominational machinery will be so much dead weight. Better and fewer churches will be the order everywhere. Gothic cathedral building will be pressed with medieval enthusiasm. Membership bonds will be relaxed or entirely eliminated. Esthetic religion is essentially individualistic, though demanding much social equipment, and worshippers need not be bound by strong social ties. For this reason the ritualistic churches give the appearance of being democratic. This is appearance only; they only do not endure the strain social solidarity.

Present tendencies in the universities are very suggestive. Foremost institutions are officially taking over religion, no longer leaving the responsibility to churches nor to voluntary societies. Around most campuses there have grown up university churches, under auspices of various interested denominations. This plan was a few years ago hailed with enthusiasm by leaders both inside and outside the university administration. It has not proved satisfactory. Independent organizations were allowed to dominate the spiritual interests of the students in other institutions. Most of these have gone to seed. University administrations are now themselves taking hold. Princeton affords an outstanding illustration. Out of the system which prevailed there up to recently there developed a virulent type of emotional religion known as Buckmanism. Its presence and persistence at Princeton became very obnoxious to the university administration. Religion was taken over officially and the new order was symbolized by a magnificent Gothic structure, a monumental production of the Cram architects, located at the center of the campus, hard by the bronze effigy of "The Christian Student," erected several years ago as the symbol of the religious ideal then beatified, and later so resented by the student body that more than once violent hands have been laid upon the "Christian Student" and between suns he has been incontinently toppled from his pedestal. The direction of the new program was committed to a new office, with rank next below the presidency of the university, and a preacher of eminence, a man of irresistible personal charm, was made the first incumbent. The plan works. Religion is on the map at Princeton, with a dignity and eminence it has perhaps not had since the days of the saintly founders.

The emphasis of this program is clear from even this brief characterization. This is esthetic religion of a highly distinguished type expressed in its purity without even ecclesiastical shackles and embellishments. It is not ethical religion. There is no assurance and perhaps no expectation that the devout and cultured gentlemen who come forth from Princeton shall do aught but accept the ethical ideals of the bankers and financiers and technicians and industrial promoters and professional practitioners into whose associations they pass. They will doubtless fit their superior religious culture into the ethical code of our economic jungle with a grace not behind that of their predecessors. This new university type of religious expression offers no hope of social renovation at the point where our civilization must find salvation or perish.

For the issue is thus clear. Ethical religion we must get, and at the point where our social destinies are at stake. We are at the mercy of the criminal unless the lawyers shall develop a sense of social obligation and set our courts and legal procedure in order. The redemption can never be effectively applied by political reformers and inflamed publicists from without; it must come from within the ranks of the guild which controls this particular social function.

Public health waits upon the adequate social functioning of the medical profession. And marvels have, indeed, been wrought of late years under the leadership of doctors. But the numerous insane health fads and nostrums, seized upon by a suffering public, remain the indictment of the profession whose lethargy and reactionary methods permit them thus to flourish.

How the current depression has thrown the banker from his high estate! The other day he was a demigod; he could do no wrong nor make mistakes. A confiding public without reserve committed to his keeping its material treasure. The now disillusioned public will not soon forget how in the crisis this guild with a high degree of unanimity scuttled to cover, insured its own salvages from the financial wreckage and allowed its millions of depositors and small investors to fend for themselves in the general disaster. Banker ethics are not today in high repute.

And so on through the long list of professions, technical guilds and administrative groupings which our intricate civilization requires for the conduct of the social interests of the people. The demand which cries out of the present debacle as does no other is for conscience, a sense of social obligation on the part of any and all who carry social responsibility; the demand is for ethical religion. Some expect revolutionary political and economic changes before our social order shall be set right. But a keen sense of social obligation is

the first requirement in society's leaders under any regime. Whether capitalism or socialism, communism or fascism, is to be the order of the new day, civilization is a vain hope unless an ethical religion shall become regnant. And we shall continue to stumble and wander and witness the wreckage of our institutions until we devise the social mechanism equal to the task of cultivating and keeping live and effectual this essential phase of religion.

JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE.

Chicago Names Einstein the First Citizen of the World

It was a fresh surprise to Chicago pacifists to have Professor Albert Einstein give us a second time his wholehearted support and encouragement. In 1931 he met us in transit at the Union Station when hundreds of pacifists gathered to meet him. He read us then a short statement from the train platform expressing the most absolute pacifism. This is preserved for us in a booklet containing all Einstein's available words on peace (The Fight Against War edited by Alfred Lief). The group greeting him this year on March 14th was smaller only because we could not get his consent for anything public. But to the hundred and fifty lucky enough to hear him and watch his mobile expression he gave a long and intimate "close-up" we never can forget.

To get any answer from a man whose mail comes in sacks we made our invitation picturesque. The *Chicago Daily News* of January 23 published a list of individuals and groups named "subversives" by the Illinois Legion because of their pacifist and radical activities. Two of the organizations, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the League for Industrial Democracy, with twenty-four of the thirty-one excellent citizens called subversive authorized me to invite Professor Einstein to address a Chicago mass meeting on his way east. We might naturally expect him to fraternize with our black list after the California Legion protested against letting him land in California! Our reply came from Mrs. Einstein who explained that their Chicago time was already promised to the luncheon for the University of Jerusalem and that no public meeting was possible. This was almost fatal.

Meanwhile Chicago enthusiasm increased, the original list doubled and the coincidence of his birthday's falling on March 14th was irresistible. We decided to call and congratulate him, and Clarence Darrow promised to thank him for his peace work. Our enthusiasm penetrated the wall, and a telegram authorized me—at a late date—to arrange things conveniently.

We met at 10 o'clock and waited for the great man until ten-thirty. After he came and found us interested in serious discussion he would not leave us even when eleven o'clock came, the hour for the luncheon to claim him. At eleven fifteen Mrs. Einstein rose and reminded him of the committee. He asked her to sit down and said he wanted another quarter of an hour with us. So we enjoyed a full hour of his valuable discussion on international, political and psychological subjects.

Einstein hates formality. Before the meeting he was stern in forbidding laudatory remarks. He walked to the speakers' table and promptly broke the ice by reaching for an additional chair that was evidently needed. He was pleased with the shortness of our greetings. Clarence Darrow spoke first—some informal words—and Einstein's expressive face relaxed in smiles when he said, "I'm glad we've got one man on our side prominent enough to give us some prestige" and again when Darrow spoke of real greatness and said "such greatness and such a reputation usually don't go together."

The strongest recruit in making our pacifist campaign effective was added only a few days before the meeting. Salmon O. Levinson was inspired to write a splendid testimonial which he had engraved on parchment and circulated among the most prominent citizens. In two days he got a surprising list of signatures, almost a Chicago Who's Who. When he was presented as our second speaker the audience rose to "our formost internationalist" proving that this prophet is not without honor in his own country. This is the testimonial Levinson wrote and presented to Einstein:

"The undersigned Chicago peace advocates welcome and salute you as the World's most distinguished and uncompromising anti-war leader. You have reinforced the peace movement with the momentum of your fame as a scientist and thinker, have stimulated it with convincing and unanswerable arguments, and have lifted the down-trodden word pacifism to the plane of benevolent and practical philosophy. Your versatile qualities of genius have made you *par excellence* the first citizen of the world. As such we tender you our homage, our gratitude, and our affection on your birthday visit to Chicago."

Signers:

Salmon O. Levinson.
Ferdinand Schevill.
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge
John P. McGoorty.
Anna Wilmarth Ickes.
Edward C. Porter.
Paul Hutchinson.
James H. Wilkerson.
Horace J. Bridges
Frederick A. Stock.
Milton S. Florsheim.
L. E. Block.
Benjamin Becker.
Louis Eckstein.
Francis X. Busch.
Mary S. Langworthy.
Louise Leonard Wright.
Arnold B. Luckhardt.
John B. Miller.
Frances C. Lillie.
Frank R. Lillie.
Ruth W. Porter.
Edwin S. Fletcher.
Susan F. Hibbard.
Victor Elting.
Perry Dunlap Smith.
James Fentress.
Louise A. Fentress
Nathaniel Samuels.
Robert E. Consadine.
Rowena R. Green.
Carl Haessler.
Clarence Darrow.
Charles W. Gilkey.
Robert M. Hutchins.
Helen Swift Neilson.
Francis Neilson.
Lola Maverick Lloyd.
William Bross Lloyd Jr.
J. William Terry.
Max Eppstein.
William H. Holly.
Alice Boynton.
Brent Dow Allinson.
Frances Paine.
Jean Duncan-Clark.
Regina Hess.
Julia Felsenthal.
Adolphe Rodossy.
Mrs. Adolphe Rodossy
Preston Bradley.
Flora Cooke.
Theodore Hume.
Ray Wilson.
Helen Rosenfels.
Judge Evans.
Mrs. William C. Hefferan.
Charles S. Bacon.
Mrs. Charles S. Bacon.
Maidie Bacon
Carl Beck.
Mrs. Carl Beck.
Frederick Babcock.

Einstein's response was a disclaimer. He says he only helps the peace cause now and then, and he gives more credit to other steadier workers for peace. There exist good organizations working along the right lines. He mentions particularly the War Resisters led by Runham Brown. Then he at once demands questions,

showing the keenest interest in them, and giving them careful answers.

We had a good translator in young Maidie Bacon, but Einstein wanted little help. He has learned English quickly and evidently enjoys it. Though his vocabulary is large, what he speaks is not good English. Many scribes prepared in German or in English to take his notes found his exact words much too difficult. I wish we had had a mindless dictaphone turned on, because we felt too much mental strain and could not keep up with his generous stream of wisdom. A few of his gems of thought have survived clearly:

He believes law not very important as a bulwark against war, since law can be changed at a moment's notice. Man must have certain principles of his own independent of law. The anti-war movement can become a religion, and it is useful to have the churches preaching pacifism. In another way pacifism can itself be considered a religion because it is believed in with faith and instinct and is not dependent on proof or logic.

The original basis of all the moral strength of the state lies in the individual, but at a given moment it is possible for the guilty law of the state to oppose individual morality. Law may tell you to kill your son, but you will resist such a command. Why? Because your morality is higher than the morality of the state.

Einstein replied to political questions on Germany, China, India, Italy,—sometimes in the dangerous field of practical prophecy, dangerous for a pacifist, I think. We have our duty and need not get involved in predictions concerning our failure or success. So with that international peace force he discussed. Einstein talked of it and called it inevitable, a degree better than national armies. He doesn't advocate it, but he predicts it.

Educating children for a new world is difficult while teaching is in the hands of military-minded governments. As long as war is possible governments must prepare for it and keep the children ready to fight when war comes.

The suddenness of the change that will be necessary from the war point of view to the peace viewpoint is a theme especially interesting to me, and I would like to hear him expound it further. Certainly the preparation for this change has been gradual enough.

He wants economic reform of course, and the removal of all causes of war. He deplores the strength of the international armament makers, but reminds us that without guns men still fight.

His firm faith in the decent impulses of the human heart is evident and inspiring. The peace campaign must go on. Let the Youth Peace Council whose representatives sit with us note his plain teaching. Let all pacifists take courage and be as extreme as they like. Einstein will never abandon the peace movement because it is too bold.

LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD.

A State Funeral for a Murderer!

Berlin. Sunday morning near the Kronprinzen Brücke. The pelting rain drives along the empty streets, turning to ugly mud puddles the remnants of snow at the foot of the trees. Only the wild ducks driven from the lakes outside by the recent cold bob contentedly on the river. Suddenly a blare of bugles and soon, from behind a line of lorries on the further bank, comes a group of men in brown shirts, black breeches and knee boots. There are thirty of them, perhaps more, for less than half of them are visible from a distance, the rest are hidden under enormous flags, red flags with a white circle in the middle on which is a black swastika. They march across the bridge and down the Karlstrasse, already their shirts cling damply to their arms and bodies. A bunch of party standard bearers going to the latest show.

Taking another route along the river we come upon more groups at every cross-roads, and several batches of girls, also in brown shirts, with short black skirts. The girls in particular seem highly pleased with themselves, more so than the spectators are with them, for a manly stride when accompanied by stout figures and stumpy legs has a comical and somehow irritating effect. And for all the talk of "a New Germany" the Nazi program for women should appeal more to these children's grandmothers than to modern girls, which perhaps explains why the women of the Party are not the most attractive in Germany.

At last the Lustgarten, that most famous of city parade grounds, which has seen so much since Bismarck was cheered across it by the Berlin crowd on his last visit to the Kaiser. On the right the Palace with flag at half-mast; on the left the columns of the National Museum; in the center the Dom, in site magnificent, in architecture an abortion. And before and around teeming thousands of uniformed S. A. troops and curious spectators.

There have been bigger crowds on the Lustgarten; Communists and Socialists and Nazis, too, have, in better weather, fulminated to greater gatherings. But this is no occasion for speeches, only one political sermon will be delivered and that by a Nazi parson. Inside the Cathedral are two biers covered, one by the Prussian, one by the Nazi flag, and eight men stand at attention beside each coffin, eight uniformed *Schupos* in blue by one and eight brown clad Nazis by the other.

The organ plays, the ceremony begins. First come the dead men's relatives, then the Police President of Berlin, followed by the Crown Prince in the old uniform of the Life Hussars. All lay a wreath on each coffin and go to join the Distinguished Strangers in the nave. The Crown Prince smilingly greets his Nazi brother with the Hitler salute. Hitler arrives and salutes the dead, taking his place near the altar with other Nazi chieftains. The service is accompanied by a police band as well as the organ, and after the parson's harangue comes the song, "I had a comrade."

Hitler leaves immediately after the ceremony and marches out to his car, to be cheered by the crowd as he drives away, followed closely by another car containing his black uniformed S. S. bodyguard. In an hour he will be flying towards Munich in his special aeroplane. Outside the procession forms, with Captain Göring at the head of the police mourners, Air Minister and head of the Prussian police, clad in a flowing brown cape with pink lining and wearing the Order of Merit, the German V. C. given only to officers. The

line wound through the city, ending in a march past an enormous picture of the shot Nazi.

And what is it all about? First, of course, like almost everything else here at present, its purpose is political and intended not only for the Berliners, whom it will hardly convert from their skepticism. The ceremony was broadcast and a Nazi announcer sought to wring tears from the listening villagers by describing National Socialists, "many with scarce money enough to buy a piece of bread," flocking spontaneously to do honor to a fallen hero. "Flags, flags, flags," was the refrain of his address. "Schrecklich!" said an old lady to me afterwards.

Hitler has now to prepare the elections, his last elections almost certainly, whatever happens. He has now to find bread for the people, *en attendant*—give them more circuses. At present a prisoner in a cabinet of Junkers and industrialists, Hitler has been given *carte blanche* in Prussia, both for display and for persecution of the Left, a common detestation of whom is the only cement of the new cabinet. But words and display must form the bulwark of his campaign since the economic crisis is beyond him and Hugenberg is unlikely to improve things.

Hence the selection of two victims of Germany's political guerilla warfare to be "honored" in this way. Political murders occur daily in Germany today, the greater part committed by Nazis themselves, but these two were killed on the day Hitler elected to sit beside his former enemies. The irony of the choice lies in the fact that one was no hero, but a self-confessed murderer, and the other would have scorned the "honor," his relatives indeed protested against it. The police sergeant was shot in the course of his duty of protecting Nazis from a hostile crowd, and, it appears, accidentally by a Nazi sniper, not by a Communist. So far from being a friend of the Nazis he hated them and the Communists actually placed two wreaths upon the spot where he was killed. The National Socialist Maikowski was the leader of "Storm Troop Number 33," known amongst the Nazis themselves as "the murder gang." And Maikowski had killed a Communist himself a few months earlier, had been arrested for it, but released. It would seem they might have found two truer victims of Germany's sad state, one of the two old women, for example, shot next evening for looking out of their windows.

X. Y. Z.

Berlin, Germany

The Study Table

The Far East

Two handsomely printed volumes, totalling almost a thousand pages, give us the full text of the "Memoranda presented to the Lytton Commission," by V. Wellington Koo.[1] It is an interesting presentation. What is the Chinese Cultural Society? If it *is*, as we believe, a group of American friends of China, we find here another example of what we have often claimed—that Chinese make a much stronger appeal to American sympathy, they seem to command a much more practical and serviceable friendship from us, than do the Japanese. We cannot here discuss the reasons. They are partly psychological; they are largely economic, based on the hope of a coming trade when "each person in China shall buy a needle, one needle, from American manufacturers." The situation will disappear when China begins to be a commercial competitor. The material in the volumes before us is official, and serious—it forms an appeal, the answer to which may involve the world. We are then primarily interested in knowing how sincere and honest it is. A reading of the first document, the general memorandum, will warn us. Thus, we are led back to the Liuchiu Islands affair and are told that in 1871-1874, those islands were "a Chinese possession." In the next sentence we are told: "We had to renounce joint-suzerainty." But why relinquish *joint* suzerainty if the Islands were Chinese? The relations of the Liuchiu Islands were a matter of international concern in 1850-1854. Those who, for important reasons, seriously investigated the question at that time did not reach the conclusion that the islands belonged to China. If they really did belong to China why was Commodore Perry permitted to use the port of Nafa? It was not one of the Chinese "open ports." In speaking of Japanese intrigues in Korea in 1876, we are told of the Japanese naval demonstration before the port of Fusan, because of an attack by Korea upon a Japanese hydrographical ship. Why did not China then take up the matter in defense of her dependency? Through years Korea's uncertain status caused trouble—not only with Japan. China claimed her as a vassal state when things went well, but denied responsibility when difficulties threatened. With such examples of shiftiness in the first pages, we are warranted in reading the entire memoranda with care and judgment. There are in all twenty-nine documents covering a wide range of differences and difficulties. In some of them there is much justice. Every serious international difficulty has two sides. All are presented with ability; some are shifty. We found those on the boycott and on Chinese efforts in the development of the Three Eastern Provinces of especial interest. The first may serve its momentary purpose, but its long final result will be to make Western nations go slow in relinquishing the advantages they enjoy under the "unequal treaties." Every one interested in the situation, than which there is no more important public question, should read the entire mass of documents with care. We do not know whether Japan's *Memoranda* have been published with equal fullness.

Not at all in the same line with the preceding is "Observations of the Japanese Government on the Lytton Report,"[2] presented to the League of Nations on November 21, 1932. Whether it has been printed in ordinary pamphlet form we do not know. These *Observations* illustrate our repeated comment on Japanese psychology. She is so sure of the reasonableness of her case, that she does not take ordinary care to present it. If people are so blind or so prejudiced as not to see it as she does, she is too proudly sensitive to justify her position. This attitude has led her to underestimate the significance of the Commission. Less care was taken in preparing and submitting her case than was appropriate; the Commission while in Japan was treated with a minimum of courtesy and felt itself quite

1. Memoranda presented to the Lytton Commission. V. Wellington Koo. New York: 1932. The Chinese Cultural Society. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 940. Price $3.00.

2. "Observations of the Japanese Government on the Lytton Report." (A summary). 8vo. pp. 41. (Typed).

unwelcome. In these *Observations* there is no attempt made to placate a somewhat offended body. All of which we regret. We consider Japan largely in the right. We feel that Manchukuo is a solution and we hope it is to be permanent. As a friend of both parties —and we consider ourselves such—we believe the only wise procedure is for Japan and China to come into conference, without outside parties present, but with scrupulous care to treat Russia with frankness and honesty. China runs a terrible risk in courting outside intervention. Suppose Japan were undone, destroyed, there would be no defense for China, or for any other part of Asia, left. To invite European (or American) action in Chinese affairs is an irreparable blunder. As to the *Observations,* they contain some important passages; we shall mention but two. In discussing the Report's consideration of the irritations in Manchuria, is said:

> It deals with these matters piece-meal, and fails to co-ordinate them into one whole, animated by one basic cause; a fixed intention to annihilate Japanese rights in Manchuria.

This is a just criticism. So is this:

> The Report, indeed, systematically lays stress on every voice which is critical of the Manchoukuo, and discounts or discredits every opinion—such as that of the Koreans and Mongols—which is favorable to the new regime.

This criticism is susceptible of general application; the Commission was exacting when evidence went contrary to its sympathies, but lenient—even gullible—when it fell in with them. There are many passages that deserve quotation, but limitation of space prevents. It is unfortunate that the distribution of this document is likely to be limited.

A study that was practically completed before the present acute difficulty between Japan and China is Peake's "Nationalism and Education in Modern China."[3] The study upon which the book reports was made in 1928-29. The book is one of a series in which the development of nationalism in different countries—France, America, Finland, Germany, Austria—is traced and studied. Since the great war we have been living in an increasingly nationalistic world. All countries are encouraging the growth of a narrow patriotism. It is as legitimate that such a tendency should operate in China as in Western lands. Our author recognizes this:

> It is easy to understand why and how the Chinese have imitated the West in this respect, but to understand in such a case does not mean to condone.

In the case of China the intentional development of a strong nationalism through the educational system has led to bitterness in the present struggle, but after all it is not only natural, it is inevitable. Still it needs control, if serious dangers are to be avoided. Peake's book is a study of the Chinese system of public education, in so far as it has aimed to develop a strong and bitter nationalism. The period from 1860 to 1929 is studied. Three phases are recognized: 1860-1894, 1895-1911, 1911 to the present time. The first phase was the realization that China must study western education in order to meet western aggression. After the Sino-Japanese war there was a deepening of this realization, a sharper feeling of weakness, a more hostile reaction. With the establishment of the Republic there was a stronger attempt toward assertion, a more outspoken antagonism. Parallel to this educational movement, there went efforts to develop a Chinese army and to force the recognition of Chinese claims. Throughout this period of almost seventy-five years there has grown up a consciousness of nationalism, but practically little of internationalism. During a brief period, 1919 to 1925, there was indeed a momentary sentimental influence from America, due to such educationists as John Dewey and Paul Monroe, which aimed at the recognition of world brotherhood. The events of 1925 swept this away and gave rise to a vigorous hostile reaction against foreignism, imperialism and hollow assertions of humanitarian ideas. The story is told in detail. In an appendix an analysis of text books is made, in which the varying aims and ideals at different periods is clearly shown.

Doctor Hodgkin knows China from two intimate experiences. From 1905, for five years he was a medical missionary in western China. In 1920 he returned to China. For two years he traveled and lectured to students and other groups and then, for nine years, he acted as one of the secretaries of the National Christian Council, traveling through the country in its interests. He has thus had fourteen years of labors that have taken him into every part of the country and brought him into contact with every class. His "Living Issues in China"[4] is a study book for mission groups. The author is a Friend, a pacifist, and a man of broad and tolerant sympathies. He states that the work of missions is distinctly challenged and that much of the challenge is just. Serious blunders have been made and readjustment and reorganization are necessary. Much that missions fought in the past is good and should be retained. That China must be made over completely from the roots up is a mistake. The motive of saving souls from hell, or even of adding to church membership, is not the one which is most helpful today, or promises best for the future. Even ancestor-worship has good features and blind warfare against it and the institution of the family is unwise. Economic service, improvement of the physical standard, assistance toward world adjustment, recognition of what is vital in religion—these are things in which the missionary must interest himself. He must cease to criticize, he must adjust himself to the political and nationalistic trends of the day. He must learn as much from China as he can expect to teach. This is perhaps the most important lesson of the book. So far as Chinese conditions are concerned the author confines himself to the last five years. They are to some degree discouraging. ". . . . have left the average Chinese citizen in worse case today than he was under the Manchu regime. Little progress, save in a few select areas, has been made in the last five years." Doctor Hodgkin believes that mission schools should register as the government demands, that the native church should have control of itself and of its properties, that mission hospitals should be pioneer institutions in unreached and undeveloped regions giving way to government institutions when such are organized, that sectarianism should be sunk and that the Chinese church should be one, that a Chinese Christianity may and must be different from western creeds, that more and more the church must be an instrument for social service. His motto is: not to antagonize, but to co-operate. Unusual, but sound!

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3. "Nationalism and Education in Modern China." Cyrus H. Peake. New York: 1932. Columbia University Press. 16mo. pp. xiv. 240. Price, $3.00.

4. "Living Issues in China." Henry T. Hodgkin. New York: 1932. The Friendship Press. 16 mo. pp. viii. 215. Price

"Out of the Storm in China"[5] is "a review of recent developments in Baptist mission fields." It, too, is a study book for mission classes. The first part of the book is devoted to the special difficulties due to China's present unsettled conditions. There has been a great wave of anti-foreignism which has not yet completely subsided; a specific anti-Christian campaign has been violently waged; the activities of contending warlords have been destructive; bandit bands have ravaged the country; communism, hostile to religion as to capitalism, has a firm hold upon large areas. All of these have made the work of missions difficult and have often led to failure, loss and retreat. Still we are told the Baptist missions have "carried on." Interesting is the fact that the work has had to be carried on largely without the help and direction of the foreign missionary, by the native converts. Two-thirds of the book are devoted to the history of the mission, its present condition, and its immediately pressing and urgent problems. An interesting chapter is devoted to the native workers who have been tested and tried and a similar chapter is given to the foreign missionaries who did the earlier work. Serious questions, such as the need of further foreign missionaries; the surrender of control and property to the Chinese church, and the union or cooperation of denominational efforts, are frankly considered. The style is lively and anecdotes and personal experiences give interest.

FREDERICK STARR.

5. "Out of the Storm in China." William B. Lipphard. Philadelphia: 1932. The Judson Press. 16 mo. pp. (vii) 201. Price $1.50

Correspondence

The Honorable V. J. Patel in America

Editor of UNITY:

I am sure you will be glad to have me send you a brief last word regarding India's great and honored leader, Mr. V. J. Patel, on the eve of his departure from this country. He has been in America between four and five months, has traveled in nearly all parts of the land, has been received with distinguished honors wherever he has gone, and has spoken to, I suppose, hundreds of thousands of people in our colleges, universities and largest cities, setting forth with extraordinary clearness and effectiveness India's right to self-rule and her determination to achieve it, however much suffering it may cost.

He has just returned to New York from an extended tour of speaking on the far away Pacific Coast and in prominent cities on his way going and returning. I have this morning received a personal letter from him, written in New York, under date of February 26th, in which he gives the following interesting information concerning himself and his work. He writes:

"I have, so far, addressed eighty-five meetings, all over the country, and established contacts with a large number of important and influential groups and individuals. The other day I had a debate before a large and representative audience, at the Foreign Policy Association in Baltimore, with my predecessor, Sir Frederich Whyte (the Englishman who preceded Mr. Patel as President of the National Legislative Assembly of India); and a debate is arranged for me by the New York Foreign Policy Association with Mr. Wedgwood Benn, former British Secretary of State for India, to take place the 11th of March.

"Immediately after that takes place I expect to leave America for Dublin, London, Geneva, Vienna and an Indian prison. I have, for the time being finished my work all single-handed, in this country, and I feel satisfied."

It ought to be pointed out that no previous visitor to America from India has ever received such high political and official honors as have been extended to Mr. Patel. Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, the eminent poet, has been accorded honors as great from American literary men and educators, and Sir J. C. Bose, the distinguished scientist, has been as highly honored by our Universities and scientific associations; but the public receptions, official welcomes and political honors extended to Mr. Patel by mayors of cities, governors of states and members of legislative bodies, state and national, have been unequaled.

This man, honored by liberty lovers in all the world, as soon as he reaches his native land, is to be again incarcerated. Does America realize that the Washingtons, Jeffersons, Franklins, Adamses and Patrick Henrys of India are all in British prisons? The only reason why Mr. Patel, India's Thomas Jefferson, is in America today is that, in his imprisonment of a year or two ago, the hardships imposed on him broke down his health and brought him so near to the grave that the British government, becoming alarmed lest they should have the disgrace before the world of causing his death, set him free for the time being, on condition that he leave India. He was able, with great difficulty, to make his way to Europe, where, in Vienna, under the best of surgical and medical treatment, he was restored to partial health. Hence his visit to America.

Now he goes back "home" (?). Is it to die there as a martyr in a holy cause?

Ann Arbor, Mich. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 50)

is a will there is a way. I am bold enough to say that I myself, in a day's time, could make a workable plan. The world could be internationally policed by 10,000 aeroplanes. Each of the 5 continents could have a station. The central station could be at Basle (or where the fund is). This would be better than Geneva, which has too much political static.

8. The work of policing the world could be safely put in the hands of a *Police Commission of Five Commissioners,* one from each of the five continents —each Commissioner to be chosen by the heads of the governments in that particular continent, with one vote to each nation.

9. If the International Police Fund grew to be too large—which is likely —the money could be pro-rated back to givers, or appropriated for making the world a better place to live in—free from disease, fear and deviltry.

10. America is the only one that might complain of this plan—but she would by it be relieved in her Air budget, and come out better financially in the end. I believe she would hail it with joy.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Geneva, Switzerland.

Radio Censorship

On March 8th, Devere Allen of this journal was barred from broadcasting over WGY, the General Electric station at Schenectady, New York, a brief address which had been announced for four o'clock, arrangements for which had been made by a local committee in charge of an evening lecture by Mr. Allen under the auspices of the League for Industrial Democracy. The station was not selling its time in this instance, but had agreed to broadcast the address presumably because of its general interest in view of the speaker's presence in the city for the evening forum. If radio stations are purely commercial and have no public responsibility beyond the making of profits through the sale of time, the station was perhaps wholly within its rights; but for a great public utility of such great social and educational influence, this view can hardly be accepted.

It is highly significant that, according to officials of the Schenectady station, orders have emanated from the headquarters of the National Broadcasting Company that nothing is to be allowed on the air which will undermine "confidence" and "faith." Certain portions of the speaker's manuscript, which he had submitted in advance, were held to belong in this category, and so a few hours before the time set for the broadcast, the local com-

mittee was informed that the speech must be cancelled, and at four o'clock the station announced its "regret" that Mr. Allen would not be able to deliver his address.

What were the incendiary utterances which were so shocking to the guardians of the ether? The speaker's manuscript, which was mailed one day prior to the general closing of the banks, was ambitiously entitled "A New Philosophy for a New Age" to fit in with the subject for the auditorium address of the evening, and outlined three attitudes which might be taken in the present world crisis: Drift, reaction, or socialization. After describing the roseate hopes of liberals at the end of the Great War and the expectation that a new effort toward democracy, peace and justice might follow the disillusionment of the conflict, the manuscript said: "That we have seen exactly the opposite of this, only the most blind and stupid could deny. Instead, we see today the nations with more men under arms than in 1913; we see the impoverished peoples of the world obliged to live in penury, with 45,000,000 unemployed and with a collapse of security from Pole to Pole, and nevertheless having to pay out every year for armaments nearly five billions of dollars; and we see, not a growing harmony among the governments of the world, but aggravated tensions, augmented fears, and the development of new enginery of destruction. . ." This passage was marked by WGY as offensive, though no criticism was made on the ground of factual inaccuracy. The figures for unemployment, though compiled from data published by the League of Nations, *The Economist, The Business Week* and other conservative sources, might conceivably have startled an uninformed layman into incredulity. But that was not cited as a reason; rather, the sole ground of the complaint was the danger to "confidence and faith." Faith in what and whom? The answer may be inferred possibly, from an examination of the other passages marked as objectionable.

After describing tersely the flood of optimistic utterances which served so long to bolster up a policy of drift, the manuscript goes on to say: "Unless, however, I read wrongly the signs of the times, it seems to me that throughout the country these fine phrases about prosperity have themselves been shoved around the corner, and no longer grip the imagination of the people. Nor do I find today any widespread belief among the masses that we can depend upon the predictions or upon the leadership of such pioneers of prosperity as some of the officials of the great utilities and certain great banks, who have given us plenty of reason to look elsewhere for guidance in this perilous period of world collapse."

Decrying economic war and pointing out its dangers, the manuscript frightened WGY by these realistic words: "Yet such a war is being waged today, along the tariff front, with respect to the possession of gold, over the war debts, and in the marts and counting houses of the nations."

Shudders of alarm would doubtless have stirred the populace to insurrection if the final objectionable passage had been sent out on the air: "If there are those who still hold hopefully to the ordinary, time-tried methods of capitalist business and finance, let me remind them that we have had a significant depression in this country, since the Civil War, on the average of once every seven years. What is the promise of a system which, at best, can only bring us out of the crisis and keep us out just long enough to catch a deep breath before we go down again?"

One Schenectady newspaper, when appealed to, and requested to print the story of this case of suppression and censorship, replied, with reason, that its lay-out was complete. The morning paper, however, lacking such an alibi, declared that WGY should be treated just as if it were a fellow-journal, and that therefore to criticize it or play up its censorship would be a violation of journalistic ethics!

Such a case, taken by itself, is of slight moment. But as an example of what we shall be in for as capitalism seeks one means after another to defend itself and perpetuate its ineptitude and misrule, it is of no small portent. Newspapers can find room for the vague, inane trivialities of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who voiced his "confidence in our bankers and our good people"; just as broadcasting stations have found time on the air for innumerable banalities and hours of reckless, dangerous obscurantism. We have long heard about the lessons which the "depression has taught the American people." Perhaps they have learned a great deal, after all, and that may be why the air will become increasingly closed to those who, for unselfish reasons of loyalty to the masses, want them to know the truth that alone can set them free.

—*The World Tomorrow.*

"India in World Politics"

Ten years after its publication in New York, "India in World Politics" (Viking), by Taraknath Das, is being brought out in German translation by a Munich publisher. It is of interest to note that the German publisher advertises conspicuously that Senator Borah commented on this book by saying that it represents the best discussion of this theme that he knows.

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